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December 6, 1947

THE *Nation*

FIASCO in GREECE

Fruits of the Truman Doctrine

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

Griswold's One Chance

BY A. W. SHEPPARD

*

Palestine—U.N. Victory . . . *Freda Kirchwey*

Stassen, the What-Is-It? . . . *Robert Bendiner*

Those British "Loafers" . . . *Keith Hutchison*

Scarcity Preferred *I. F. Stone*

Oscar Berger's Zoo . . . Christmas Book List

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MILLIONS OF TELEPHONE USERS



THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MANAGEMENT IN THE BELL SYSTEM

IT USED TO BE that the owners of practically every business were themselves the managers of the business. Today, as far as large businesses are concerned, a profound change has taken place. In the Bell System, for instance, employee management, up from the ranks, and not owner management, is responsible for running the business.

This management has been trained for its job in the American ideal of respect for the individual and equal opportunity for each to develop his talents to the fullest. A little thought will bring out the important significance of these facts.

Management is, of course, vitally interested in the success of the enterprise it manages, for if it doesn't succeed, it will lose its job.

So far as the Bell System is concerned, the success of the enterprise depends upon the ability of management to carry on an essential nationwide telephone service in the public interest.

This responsibility requires that management act as a trustee for the interest of all concerned: the millions of telephone users, the hundreds of

thousands of employees, and the hundreds of thousands of stockholders. Management necessarily must do the best it can to reconcile the interests of these groups.

Of course, management is not infallible; but with its intimate knowledge of all the factors, management is in a better position than anybody else to consider intelligently and act equitably for each of these groups—and in the Bell System there is every incentive for it to wish to do so.

Certainly in the Bell System there is no reason either to underpay labor or overcharge customers in order to increase the "private profits of private employers," for its profits are limited by regulation. In fact, there is no reason whatever for management to exploit or to favor any one of the three great groups as against the others and to do so would be plain stupid on the part of management.

THE BUSINESS cannot succeed in the long run without well-paid employees with good working conditions, without adequate returns to investors who have put their savings in the enterprise, and without reasonable prices to the cus-

tomers who buy its services. On the whole, these conditions have been well-met over the years in the Bell System.

Admittedly, this has not been and is not an easy problem to solve fairly for all concerned. However, collective bargaining with labor means that labor's point of view is forcibly presented. What the investor must have is determined quite definitely by what is required to attract the needed additional capital, which can only be obtained in competition with other industries.

AND in our regulated business, management has the responsibility, together with regulatory authorities, to see to it that the rates to the public are such as to assure the money, credit and plant that will give the best possible telephone service at all times.

More and better telephone service at a cost as low as fair treatment of employees and a reasonable return to stockholders will permit is the aim and responsibility of management in the Bell System.

Walter S. Gifford

WALTER S. GIFFORD, President
AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

PROCEEDINGS DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF the London conference provided little reason for revising the gloomy estimate of its success that we gave in our last issue. True, the Foreign Ministers managed to agree on an agenda—a task that had defeated their deputies—but in the discussion of basic issues there seemed to be no meeting of minds. The chief matter in dispute has been the form and scope of a provisional German government. All four powers—France, with many reservations—favor a politically and economically unified Germany, but at that point agreement ends. The United States, Britain, and France want a loose federation with large powers left to the constituent states; Russia, a strong centralized government. Both sides, of course, are concerned about the way in which the balance of power will be tilted by the new Germany. Russia fears that our aim is to build up the Reich as an American bastion in Central Europe; we dread a Communist Germany allied to the U.S.S.R. Since, unfortunately, neither fear can be dismissed as absurd, it would seem that Russia and the United States can hardly hope to make a joint peace with a unified Germany until they end their “cold war.” The strong probability of stalemate in the present conference has been underlined by Molotov's demand that America and Britain renounce all thought of making a separate peace with a truncated Germany. Naturally, Marshall and Bevin have refused to commit themselves on this point. There is good reason to suppose that they are not anxious to play this trump card of dubious value, but at the present stage of the game they cannot afford to throw it away.

★

THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT, WHICH has suffered some hard knocks lately, has good cause to be jubilant at the victory of its candidate, Sir Richard Acland, at the Gravesend parliamentary by-election. In the recent municipal elections, as Aylmer Vallance reminds us in his article on page 617, the Tories exploited popular discontent over “enforced austerity” with very gratifying results from their point of view. Their successes, they claimed, showed that the tide had turned against the Labor Party, and they looked to Gravesend to provide a clinching proof. They had some reason to be optimistic. Gravesend is not a typical industrial con-

stituency; it is a mixed urban, suburban and rural district at the mouth of the Thames, with large farming and middle-class elements to balance a considerable population of longshoremen and factory workers. At the general election in 1945, when Labor ousted a Tory who had held the seat firmly for twenty-one years, a Liberal had intervened, polling 5,000 votes. This time, there was a straight fight, and the Tories confidently expected most of the Liberal votes to go to their candidate. Another point in their favor was that the election was called just after the inauguration of potato rationing, an unpopular if necessary measure. The Tories made much of this issue, even though they could not explain how or why the Labor government had created last summer's drought which caused the potato shortage. It was, they tried to suggest, just another example of bad Labor planning, and they extolled, with Winston Churchill, “the marvelous results of sweeping away controls” in the United States. At this point, President Truman unwittingly provided Acland with a powerful counter-argument by his request to Congress to reimpose controls and rationing. That seems to have been the turning point in a ding-dong battle which Labor won with a reduced but handy majority.

★

BOSTON IS A CITY THAT BLANCHES AT A naughty word in type and keeps a convicted crook for its Mayor. Normally, we would not be too exercised over a commutation of sentence that freed a seventy-two-year-old man a month before his eligibility for parole, and we would not even be vindictive in the case of the Honorable James M. Curley if his release were not enveloped in a cloud of dubious politics. It is not every prisoner who has the minority whip of the House of Representatives circulating petitions in his behalf. Still fewer have a champion in the Cabinet, as Curley did in the person of Robert Hannegan, recently resigned. And no jailbird we ever heard of had the mayoralty of a great city held open for him while he served his time. By commuting Curley's sentence after five months, President Truman not only assured the venerable Mayor of a Thanksgiving dinner at home, a touching sentiment in itself, but left intact his civil rights. Cynical Republicans, with an eye on Curley's usefulness to his party in 1948, may puff up in righteous wrath, as some already have

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done, but their indignation cannot be pushed far without coming up against the strange behavior of their own party colleagues in Massachusetts. After all, it was a Republican legislature that, in ninety minutes, rushed through the so-called "Curley law," whereby the city clerk of Boston was made temporary mayor until the moment the convict, specifically named in the legislation, should again set foot in City Hall. And it was Republican Governor Bradford who signed the bill, presumably out of gratitude to Curley for making him governor by quietly knifing his own party's candidate a year ago. Curley was greeted outside his home by a band playing "Hail to the Chief," but the country has still to hear an outcry from those forces of piety in Boston to whom mail fraud apparently is the merest peccadillo beside the monstrous sin of birth control.

*

THE MOTION-PICTURE INDUSTRY'S BOAST that it has not produced anything un-American was blown to pieces when its "leaders," meeting in New York, announced to the world that they were firing the ten men cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer the questions of J. Parnell Thomas's egregious committee. There is good reason for taking into account the political beliefs of people employed in the policy-making departments of government; but when private industry begins to fire people for their suspected sympathy with, or membership in, a political group which is, after all, a legal party, every individual is laid open to an attack upon his right and his opportunity to work—and to think as he pleases. The actions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities have been outrageous enough; complete subservience to its whims by the heads of Hollywood is even more so. Those heads have always touched their heels, as it were, leaning over backward to conform to the mores of morons, as laid down in the Hays code. But this time, their antics are not merely ridiculous; they are also dangerous. A court test is very much in order, and we hope it will be pressed. For the defendants are not just those few fellow-travelers who have the means to fight back and who don't mind being martyrs anyway, but everyone who does not hold the thoroughly un-American view that all's right with the world.

*

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, IN HIS MESSAGE TO Congress on November 17, asked that "some restraint should be placed on inflationary bank credit." In this generalized form, the request seemed one of the least controversial in the Presidential program, and even Senator Taft indicated willingness to support it. However, if Congress gets down to brass tacks on the subject, it is likely to find that "restraint of credit" can create just as much heat as price control. That fact has

been made clear by the loud protests of the banking community against a plan offered last week to the House Banking and Currency Committee by Federal Reserve Chairman Marriner Eccles. Mr. Eccles suggested that the Federal Reserve Board be given new powers to require all banks to hold special additional reserves of cash or short-term government securities. He proposed a maximum of 25 per cent against demand deposits and 10 per cent against time deposits, which, combined with existing requirements, could mean that banks would be obliged to keep in reserve 39 to 51 per cent of their time deposits, the actual ratio varying with location. This would increase the influence of the Reserve System on the money market and serve to constrict the banks' ability to make commercial loans, which have been expanding at a phenomenal rate in recent months. We can see certain technical objections to his plan, but, since maximum legal reserves have previously been moved up and down by Congress, there does not seem to be anything startlingly revolutionary about it. Nevertheless, the bankers view Mr. Eccles's idea as nothing less than "a step toward socialization of banking," and they obviously are prepared to fight it tooth and nail. Their chances of successful resistance are good, since Administration councils are divided, with Secretary of the Treasury Snyder taking his stand with his former banking associates.

The Meyers Crackdown

THE sudden ferocity with which his former comrades in top echelons of the armed services have turned on Major General Bennett E. Meyers (retired) must be a shattering blow to even so cynical a character as "Benny." Without the formality of civil trial or court martial, he has been denied further disability pension, stripped of his medals, and branded a "disgrace to the uniform" by his war-time commander. The self-portrait which the kiss-and-tell general painted in his curious "defense" before the Senate War Investigating Committee will still arouse any protests which this summary crackdown might arouse among civil libertarians. Yet the haste and hysteria displayed are somewhat disturbing for other reasons.

General Meyers's version of his relations with Mrs. Lamarre and the resulting complexities will be weighed in the courts. On the record so far, we are inclined to agree with Senator Ferguson that the General's explanation is even more damaging than the charges against him; that if, in actuality, he promoted the Aviation Electric Corporation in order to retain the favor of the lady—and her husband—he was using government contracts to subsidize his sex life. This is not usually considered conduct becoming a model major general. Mrs. Lamarre, in turn, accuses Meyers of rank boastfulness and insists he steadfastly pursued profit, not pleasure. This narrow

dispute has undoubtedly buried some significant disclosures about the war-time A. A. F. But even so, the current military offensive against Meyers takes on a rather hollow sound when the following items are considered:

1. In the summer of 1945, an anonymous member of the Air Forces wrote a letter to the FBI offering plain clues to Meyers's "profiteering." It was promptly transmitted to the A. A. F., whose Major General Junius Jones, Air Inspector, has admitted that the charges were never investigated. With notable arrogance, he said he still thought it read like the work of a "reformer" and "crackpot," and he deplored the failure of the author to sign his name. On further questioning, it developed that General Jones is the author of a manual stressing the need for investigation of leads in all anonymous letters.

2. The letter was routed—inexplicably—to the office of General H. H. Arnold, war-time A. A. F. chief, where it gathered dust. Arnold had meanwhile sent a questionnaire to top procurement officers asking them to list their stockholdings. He assured them no "investigation" was contemplated; he wanted the material as the basis for a "public-relations" campaign to refute ugly "rumors" about the procurement setup. When General Jones was asked why no effort was made to look behind the replies, he said the Air Forces had no power to "force" an officer to divulge his financial records.

3. General Arnold, in his angry public condemnation of Meyers, confessed that the errant general had discussed speculation in government bonds with him in 1943. Yet the discussion apparently stirred no suspicions about the scope of Meyers's extra-curricular activities; Arnold simply declined to join in the deal.

4. Colonel John W. Price acknowledged that he wrote a memorandum earlier this year recommending that the Air Forces, having pigeonholed the anonymous letter, withhold it from the Senate probers. It was only by accident that the document fell into the committee's hands. General Jones thereupon announced that, "for reasons independent of this investigation," Colonel Price would be transferred to another post. Will General Jones get a medal?

General Arnold and Mr. Symington now express confidence that General Meyers was "just one rotten apple" in a big barrel. We are also told that a new day in procurement is at hand and that the unified services will prevent a repetition of these "errors." The reorganization-referred to will be welcome. But we have a lingering fear that the archaic caste system will be only gently jarred in the process. It was that system as much as any other factor which protected General Meyers, sparing him such discomforts as inspection of his war-time financial operations. We hope the Senate investigators will not reduce the Meyers case to a saga of individual sin when they write their final report.

United Nations Victory

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE Palestine decision was a victory not to be diminished by the grimy background of intrigue and vote-trading from which it emerged. Nothing that went before can blur the outlines of the new Jewish state, defined in the language of the resolution, if not yet in structural form, and approved by more than two-thirds of the members. This is the Assembly's one great accomplishment, and it went far to restore faith in the capacity of the United Nations to act positively.

The decision has been challenged by the Arab states and rejected by the Palestine Arab Higher Committee, but many signs already point to ultimate reluctant acquiescence rather than all-out rebellion. Not one Arab state has said it would withdraw from the United Nations; as for the Arabs of Palestine, they may never accept partition but also they may not resist it—not, at least, as a whole people. Undoubtedly, there will be violence; the warlike threats and preparations of the Mufti, across the border in Lebanon, have already touched off ugly outbursts in Palestine and Syria. But his efforts may be partly offset by the activities of certain opposition Palestinian Arabs, known even now to be in contact with King Abdullah and ready to take advantage of a possible future absorption of Arab Palestine by Transjordan. Faced with a United Nations decision carried out by a United Nations commission, Arab intransigence is likely to fade.

In any case, the decision will neither be reversed nor nullified. Even Britain has officially stated its willingness "not to obstruct" any plan adopted by the Assembly. So we may assume that the Assembly plan will be put in effect, at least in Jewish Palestine, and that by October the new state—or states—will be in existence. Superficially, the result was achieved by eight weeks of parliamentary maneuver, lobbying, debate, and back-stairs trading; more profoundly, it was produced, as the oranges and phosphates of Palestine have been produced, by a mighty faith and iron endurance maintained through twenty-five years of Jewish struggle.

THE battle in the Assembly was the pay-off. In time, it will be reviewed and analyzed in these pages. Here, only a few major points can be made:

If Britain, which gave the Palestine problem to the United Nations, had cooperated in finding a solution, the matter could have been easily settled. The United Nations Special Committee had submitted majority and minority reports and a wealth of supporting material. The views of the opposing parties had been well aired last spring. But because of Britain's negative attitude, the whole procedure faced a series of roadblocks. The

British delegates—first the Colonial Secretary, Arthur Creech-Jones, and then Sir Alexander Cadogan—kept repeating the formula on which the session began: the mandate would be laid down on a date to be determined in London; British troops would be withdrawn when the government saw fit (in his last speech, Cadogan set August 1 as the date of final withdrawal); Britain would not, at any stage, be responsible for helping establish or enforce a solution not accepted by both Arabs and Jews—that is, any solution conceivable. The subcommittee was left with the unhappy task of planning partition without knowing when, where, how, or under what authority the job could be accomplished.

Even this difficulty might have been overcome fairly easily if the United States had taken a clear, strong position at the outset. Unfortunately, until the last days, the United States followed a policy of deliberate ambiguity. No one knew just where our delegation stood at any given moment—including the delegates themselves. As always, the State Department wanted to string along with Britain, if possible. Influential men in the department, with the Defense Department and the combined Chiefs of Staff in the background, favored a solution as close to the status quo as changed events allowed. Oil and defense and old-fashioned imperialist interests were balanced against long-standing promises to the Jews, and President Truman's inclination—personal as well as political—toward a Zionist solution. The result was a formal indorsement of the majority plan offset by a long series of delays and reservations. For days on end, the United States members of the subcommittee sat silent while the other members fumed and privately expressed their annoyance at American passivity. It was only when the press criticized the shilly-shallying of our delegates that they were jolted briefly into activity. But the deliberations were so endlessly protracted that the energetic Dr. Evatt finally invaded the subcommittee, demanded a report, and got one.

How much of the trouble can be laid to the American members themselves, and how much to Washington, it would be hard to say. Certainly, General Hilldring, our delegation's excellent adviser, did his utmost to force the issue. The best guess is that most of obstructions originated in the higher reaches of the State Department.

That action was at last taken must be put down to the account of a handful of men. Apart from Dr. Evatt, whose tenacity and parliamentary skill were a major asset

THE NATION wishes to acknowledge the many letters it has received discussing the three articles by Paul Blanshard on the Roman Catholic Church in Medicine, Sex and Education. As soon as space permits, an extensive representative selection of these letters will be printed.

December 6, 1947

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in the fight, great praise should go to three of the Latin American delegates—Jorge Granados, of Guatemala, E. Rodriguez Fabregat, of Uruguay, and Pedro Zuloaga, of Venezuela. Fabregat and Granados, having served as members of UNSCOP, contributed immensely to the success of the working committee which was set up to resolve differences and prepare the detailed plan of implementation; and all three showed skill in preventing serious divisions in the subcommittee. Equally effective was Canada's able Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester Pearson. Very hard-headed and direct, quick on the trigger, Pearson kept finding ways around the succession of barriers raised by the British and the Americans. Another man who deserves more credit than he got was Ksowery Pruszyński, the subcommittee's Polish chairman. Laboring under the handicap of a slow and reluctant English, Pruszyński nevertheless held the group to their appointed job—to prepare a report *based on the majority recommendations*. He was himself unwavering in support of partition, and his tenacious good faith kept others in line.

Finally, credit must go to Russia's Tsrupakin who, from the moment Gromyko announced his support of partition, did everything possible to hasten agreement. No one could accuse the Soviet delegates of obstruction or any attempt to play politics with the issue. They were conciliatory and reasonable all through, and at several critical points accepted compromise solutions, as in the matter of Security Council authority over the Palestine commission, in order to speed action.

Throughout, the representatives of the Jewish Agency showed statesmanship and a restraint which was the more impressive because they had waited so long for the day of decision. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Chaim Weizmann ably presented the Zionist case in the general debate while Moshe Shertok carried the whole weight of day-by-day negotiation with a skill and patience that every member recognized.

THE commission was hand-picked by the United States. Four out of five of the countries named are generally counted in the British-American "bloc"—Bolivia, Panama, Denmark, and the Philippines. Czechoslovakia was chosen instead of Poland, which had earned a place on the commission. Bolivia was put on, while Guatemala and Uruguay were omitted—on United States insistence, after both had been recommended by the working committee.

But the value of the commission will be demonstrated in action; and its ability to accomplish the difficult task assigned to it will depend, in the end, not so much on its composition, though that is important enough, as on the attitude of the great powers toward its mission. How far will Britain go in maintaining order while its troops remain in Palestine? Will it

organize the process of withdrawal so as to facilitate the work of the commission, or pull out in the manner best suited to its own convenience? The answers to those questions will determine order or chaos in Palestine. Continued cooperation between Russia and the United States will play an immense role in insuring a successful transfer of power. Another factor will be American willingness to send arms to the Jewish militia. Since no United Nations force has been provided to keep the peace while the commission governs Palestine, it is essential that the Haganah be quickly supplied with equipment and prepared to defend partition as it is carried into effect.

The decision in the Assembly was won through the belated help of the United States, without whose help it could not have been won at all. Those Americans who watched the struggle at close range or, like the representatives of The Nation Associates, took an active hand in it, were not happy at the reluctant role their government played—particularly in view of past pledges and the evident necessities of the case. Now that partition has been adopted, the United States has an opportunity to see to it that the plan succeeds.

If raids and terror rule in Palestine, the Security Council will be called upon to take action—and this is the contingency the State Department has been most anxious to avoid. The best hope of order, and effective implementation of the plan offered by the Assembly, lies in putting arms into the hands of the Jewish forces—before the British troops withdraw.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Stassen, the What-Is-It?

HAROLD E. STASSEN, it appears, is unimpressed by the fate of the politician celebrated in the jingle of the late Keith Preston, to wit:

There lies beneath this mossy stone
A politician who
Touched a live issue without gloves
And never did come to.

Indeed, the device whereby Stassen keeps his name before the country without benefit of public office is to pick up live issues and publicly fondle them, much as a Kentucky snake cultist handles a mess of rattlers. Not content with stumping the country for the Presidency while rival candidates are still coyly hiding behind their fans, he has now written a book called "Where I Stand" (Doubleday, \$2) in which his principles are set forth for all to read. And in Milwaukee last week he paid his respects to certain unidentified Presidential candidates

who "hold that a position of photogenic availability should be maintained" until such time as delegates have been rounded up by skilful henchmen.

One would think that out of all this self-conscious, grimly determined frankness there would emerge a clear image of Harold Stassen and his creed, a picture easily recognized anywhere in the country. But this is far from being the case. In the course of a recent short stay in Wisconsin, where Stassen is staging a major drive for delegates, I found that he is as diversely viewed by the citizenry as the elephant by the blind men.

To the devotees of the Chicago *Tribune* Stassen is of course the heir of Wendell Willkie, which is to say, an enemy spy in the Republican camp, a New Dealer, and probably a "foreigner," a term not easy to define since Colonel McCormick has extended it to include Vandenberg and even Dewey. But it turns out that those who led the Willkie campaign in Wisconsin four years ago are as cool toward Stassen as the Colonel is. Their choice is Eisenhower. And the remnants of the old Progressive machine—not that I consider it a criterion—snort at the very notion that Stassen is a liberal. One of Phil La Follette's lieutenants assumed an air of perplexity as we talked of the former Minnesota governor. "I can't see anything liberal about the guy," he said. But he could still see something liberal in Phil, who in turn sees General MacArthur as "the greatest living American."

OFFHAND it might seem unreasonable to attribute the confusion about Stassen to that gentleman himself. Certainly he has been free with his opinions, and has displayed a tactical boldness that is refreshing beside the ragged conventions of the Deweys, the Warrens, and the rest. But in a large measure he is responsible for the ambiguity that characterizes his political reputation. He has managed to combine in a remarkable degree a liberalism in the abstract with a conservatism in the concrete. By lashing out at the "riders of regal reaction" and setting forth such objectives as "the better life," he deliberately makes his appeal as the daring and idealistic young hope of the party, determined to sweep out the mossbacks and bring the G. O. P. back to the glories of the first Roosevelt. Yet if Harold Stassen has ever harbored an idea that could not be swallowed by Robert A. Taft, the country has yet to hear of it.

Consider both his book and the Milwaukee speech in which he opened his formal appeal for Wisconsin's twenty-seven delegates. He is for a "free economy" in which there are "no booms, no busts," but he is so bearish on government controls that he "would much rather have large capital accumulations managed by individual citizens than . . . by government officials." He concedes that "there is some danger of going too far" in the direction of curbing labor, but the Taft-Hartley law doesn't

do it. Though a few minor amendments are in order, that statute is "the foundation for a fair, just, and well-balanced labor policy in America." And, like Knutson, he favors tax reductions in the higher brackets.

As a veteran and champion of veterans Stassen lays proper emphasis on the desperate need for housing, and he even concedes that the federal government "must break through to pry loose the log jam." But he is "unalterably opposed" to the government's becoming the "No. 1 landlord," and he puts the blame for the whole housing fiasco on government, the building industry, and the unions—on everyone, in short, except the Republicans who killed all the government's efforts to provide housing, and the real-estate lobby that called the tune.

It is particularly hard for Wisconsinites to take Stassen's concern with housing seriously—or his liberalism altogether, for that matter—because of the political company he keeps. His campaign for delegates in the state is led by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, an eager champion of the real-estate bloc. Miles McMillin of the Madison *Capital Times* recently described McCarthy as a man who, as judge, obliged his political supporters with "quickie" divorces, "who destroyed records of his court, and who failed to report some \$40,000 in income made from stock speculation." This last failing, incidentally, appears to be common among Congressmen from Wisconsin, several of whom have explained that they were simply "too busy" to make out returns.

If Stassen is even to cut much of a figure at the Republican convention, he will have to win the Wisconsin primary, which will be accepted by party leaders as an indication not only of his strength but of Dewey's and Eisenhower's as well. To this end McCarthy's men are already at work on district leaders and wardheelers, and from what I am told they are discounting their candidate's high-sounding pronouncements as "campaign oratory." Democratic leaders in the state, presumably neutral, expect Stassen to win the primary with the support of the Republican organization, with Dewey definitely weaker than in 1944 and MacArthur showing considerable strength. Stassen's recent and gratuitous attack on New York as a hotbed of communism was probably aimed primarily at Dewey, but it should also appeal to the anti-Eastern sentiments of *Tribune* readers who might be drifting toward the MacArthur camp. I would think that his lumping of socialism with communism—"two peas from the same confining pod"—and his remarkable proposal to refuse Marshall Plan aid to countries with nationalization programs were addressed to the same potential supporters. But there is more here than demagoguery. The plain truth is that Harold Stassen is first and foremost a champion of private capital in its purest form. Any resemblance to radicalism in his speeches or writings is purely coincidental, and any liberalism wholly secondary.

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Scarcity Preferred

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 25

THE House committee on foreign aid headed by Representative Herter concludes smugly that "the greatest service the United States can render to the world at this time lies in maintaining a strong and powerful system of free enterprise in the United States." This happens to be true. An economic collapse in this country, by depressing prices and restricting markets the world over, will place a terrific burden on reconstruction efforts everywhere, irrespective of social systems. Unfortunately the Republicans, who dominate both houses of Congress, show no disposition whatever to make those minor sacrifices of private interest which are necessary if the American economy is to be stabilized.

This applies even to those in the Republican ranks who have been represented as in revolt against the Taft leadership. In last week's letter, *The G. O. P. Discovers Poverty*, I showed that two wandering Republican investigating committees were appalled at the poverty which inflation was creating at home and disturbed by the exorbitant profits resulting from the inflated prices. Yet neither committee had the courage to propose that anything much be done about it. The Flanders report went so far as to suggest an increase in the minimum wage and consumer rationing for meat, butter, and poultry, but without price control. The Bender report was against a return either to rationing or to price and wage control. All it proposed was that we "pare to the bone all government-financed export and military programs." The rebels—if they deserve so portentous a name—seem only to feel that Taft should not have slammed the door so resoundingly on the anti-inflationary controls asked by the President. Perhaps they fear echoes next November.

Reluctance to face up to the necessities imposed by any adequate program of European reconstruction is all the more evident in the Herter reports, which deal with the supply side of the picture. If all the current cant about "free enterprise" and "totalitarian controls" did not merely mask an unwillingness to forgo further inflationary profit, it would be obvious to the most conservative observer that the supply-and-demand mechanism of the market had temporarily broken down. Any program of foreign aid is rigorously limited on one side by the supply of food, which has about reached the maximum possible, and on another side by the supply of steel, where government intervention is necessary (1) to plan full utilization of existing facilities, and (2) to expand basic capacity. A combination of selective price controls, rationing, allocations, and planning is

required to meet this situation; all are anathema to the Republicans as they are to industry generally.

THIS is most striking in the case of Europe's greatest need, which is grain. The Herter report on France points out that the French bread ration is less than it was during the German occupation, and that there as elsewhere "official rations . . . can hardly go lower without serious effects on health and dangerous political repercussions." The Herter report on grain recognizes that the winter-wheat crop may fall to half last year's, not only jeopardizing the foreign-aid program but producing "critical domestic consequences and inflationary effects of a magnitude difficult to describe." Yet the committee cannot bring itself to draw what would seem to be the inescapable conclusion—the necessity of granting at once to the President emergency powers to control the price, use, allocation, and marketing of wheat and corn. It does advance, as questions for "preliminary consideration," some tentative ideas for planned expansion of food crops, fish, and nitrogen, for possible restrictions on the industrial use of grain, and for government procurement of all grains; but price controls—horrid phrase—are nowhere mentioned. Neither is rationing.

The only rationing the G. O. P. envisages is the rationing of misery and of abnormal demand abroad to fit the patterns of business as usual in the United States. The Republican majority, far from considering the questions timidly advanced in the Herter report on grain, is already taking to heart its warning that "the present danger is we may over-export." The Herter committee itself, when it gets down to cases, shows no disposition for any uncomfortable measures to expand available supplies. Thus it is content to dismiss as "unlikely" Secretary Marshall's hope that this winter we may ship enough wheat to France to restore its bread ration from the present 200 grams a day to the 250 grams which was—the Herter report tells us—"the lowest official ration under the German occupation." The Republicans are well aware of the need for maintaining wheat exports and some others if the bottom is not to fall out of the current boom. To this degree they favor "fighting communism" in Western Europe, but not to the degree that it would interfere with profits.

WITH regard to steel, the other basic item in the foreign-aid program, the facts are equally obvious. The supply of steel is the factor limiting the production and movement of fertilizer, coal, machinery, and

transport equipment. In the Administration reports—the Nourse, Krug and Harriman documents—one can see, by reading them carefully, that the steel supply is not just an emergency foreign-aid problem, that it must be expanded if a full-employment economy is to be maintained at home. One can also learn, most clearly from the Krug report, that steel output, instead of expanding, has been declining from the war-time peak; 4,000,000 tons of capacity have been shut down, and current production is 6,000,000 tons below that reduced capacity. There are problems in restoring the war-time peak, but the Herter committee is unwilling to recognize the part the government could play in easing if not solving them. The committee is unfriendly to steel expansion not only at home but abroad, though Western Europe must fabricate and sell more steel than it did before the war if it is to make up for its lost investments and lost empires.

Except in the case of Germany, which seems to be the favored nation of both the Herter and Harriman reports, there is suspicion of plans for steel expansion in

Western Europe. The Herter committee wants to review and revise downward the steel plans of the United Kingdom, France, and the Benelux combination. "Is there not a real need," it asks, "to look at the prospects for marketing the capacity that will result and its probable contribution to a lack of world balance harmful to all concerned?" The Herter report reflects similar thinking in the case of petroleum. It fears that the refining equipment asked by the Paris proposals might be "supplied to foreign-owned but not to American-owned companies"; can't you see the poor little refugees of Standard Oil shivering outside the door? The Herter committee suggests either "curbs on Europe to prevent unreasonable increases in the consumption of petroleum" or "alternatively more production of petroleum equipment from Europe, particularly from Germany." The G. O. P. prefers a comfortable scarcity to adequate reconstruction in Europe, but if expansion there must be, it would rather see it in the Reich, where United States branch plants and cartel partners can share the profits.

Fiasco in Greece

I. Fruits of the Truman Doctrine

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

A FEW weeks ago Howard K. Smith, CBS's European news chief, reported from London that the execution of leftists in Greece had surpassed the rate at which opposition leaders were being liquidated in the Russian-dominated Balkans.

Strangely enough, President Truman's report to Congress on the progress of the Truman Doctrine, issued on November 10, didn't record this milestone. Nowhere in the report—or in the attached State Department document—was there mention of the increased violence in Greece since the Truman Doctrine was announced. That violence continues today, with wholesale executions, heads of partisans set up in public squares, and political prisoners used as "mine detectors."

The British, for all their blunders in Greece, had sufficient humanity to prevent political executions on trumped-up charges. Recently eighty-six Labor members of the House of Commons sent an appeal to King Paul to stay the wave of murders. In the United States, however, not a single official protest has been raised, and the Greek government openly suggests that its brutal tactics have the covert approval of the American embassy.

CONSTANTINE POULOS, former Balkan correspondent of *The Nation* and the *Overseas News Agency*, is now in this country preparing a book on Greece.

Mr. Truman neglected to mention a good many recent developments in Greece—the illegal arrest, imprisonment, and exile to barren islands of thousands of liberals, Socialists, progressives, and Communists, the complete suppression of the left-wing press, the slow but sure movement toward the suppression of the Greek trade-union movement. Thousands of labor leaders have been arbitrarily deported. A decree of the Ministry of Public Order on November 7 forbade a called strike and threatened to proclaim martial law if the strike were held and to draft its leaders into the army. At the same time the president of the teamsters' union, which had issued the strike call, was arrested because, in the words of the Minister of Public Order, he had recently returned from exile and "should be more careful." No other charge was made against him.

BUT what one finds most surprising in Mr. Truman's report is its failure to record the American mission's greatest accomplishment in Greece—the "broadening" of the Greek government. This event is worth examination if only as an illustration of the new "non-interventionist" attitude of our State Department.

Two significant hints of the "broadening" preceded it. Dana Adams Schmidt, the capable correspondent of the *New York Times* in Athens, wrote on July 23, "A leavening of the predominant right-wing Cabinet with Liberals, it is thought, might diminish the skepticism of public opinion in the United States and Great Britain regarding the regime." Again on August 26 Schmidt

wrote, "When Foreign Minister Tsaldaris returns from the United States, probably within a few days, the mission is expected to use its influence to 'broaden' the government." One of the purposes of such a move, Schmidt said, would be "to make a better impression on United States public opinion, which will in the end determine the continuance of United States aid." "Some observers think," he added, "that Mr. Dwight Griswold [chief of the mission] will be lucky if he liberalizes the government to the extent of getting rid of Napoleon Zervas, Minister of Public Order."

Seven days later the three mildest right-wing ministers—George Papandreou, Panayotis Kanellopoulos, and Sophocles Venizelos—prompted by the Americans, demanded the removal of Zervas. Tsaldaris refused, the three resigned, the government fell, and King Paul asked Tsaldaris to form a new government.

At this point the Americans in Athens got busy, but they also got their signals crossed. Griswold wanted to liberalize the Greek government, while the American ambassador, Lincoln MacVeagh, only wanted to "broaden" it. MacVeagh didn't believe any serious changes were necessary; he only wanted to make the government look better to the American people. He thought this might be done if the Liberal Party were to enter a royalist government controlled by Tsaldaris's Populists.

Themistocles Sophoulis, the old Liberal leader whom MacVeagh has disliked for many years, rejected this proposal. When Sophoulis demanded complete control of the government by his party, the embassy announced that such a government would not receive American support. To back a purely Liberal government headed by Sophoulis, a spokesman said, would be equivalent to supporting the "Communist minority."

Thereupon Tsaldaris determined to form a strictly Populist government. He was temporarily checked, however, by the increasingly nervous Americans, who asked other parliamentary leaders not to join or support such a ministry. Griswold bluntly told one ex-minister that a narrow right-wing government would be "inadmissible." Then Tsaldaris sprang his trap. He went to MacVeagh and insisted that the Americans declare in writing whether or not they objected to his projected government and, if they did, whether its formation would cause any change in their country's policy toward Greece. MacVeagh, of course, was forced to retreat. "My government," he said, "has no intention of intervening in the internal affairs of Greece." He assured Tsaldaris that Griswold ought to have said "inadvisable," not "inadmissible." Tsaldaris announced that "the Americans are not interfering" and proceeded to form a government made up entirely of Populist Party members.

At this critical moment Loy Henderson, chief of the State Department's division of Near Eastern and African Affairs, was hurried to Athens as a trouble-shooter. He

clarified Griswold's status and talked old Sophoulis into an agreement. Reversing his previous decision, Sophoulis consented to serve in the Cabinet with Tsaldaris and withdrew his former insistence on a completely free hand in the selection of ministers. Tsaldaris was handled differently by Henderson; he was simply bludgeoned by the threat that American aid would be cut off. Henderson also said that unless Tsaldaris agreed to give Sophoulis the premiership, Griswold would push for the appointment of that ancient *bête noire* of the royalists, General Plastiras. So Tsaldaris gave in. And that is the way we broadened the government in Greece.

Two of the men Tsaldaris brought into the Cabinet with him are more extreme right-wingers than Zervas ever was. Petros Mavromichalis, the new Minister of the Interior, is not only a direct representative of the vested interests but also the man who organized the first terrorist bands in the Peloponnesus last year, after the elections. Admiral Alexander E. Sakellariou, the new Minister of the Navy, was removed from the first Greek government in exile by the then Prime Minister, Tsouderos, for declaring in London in 1942 that post-war Greece would have a regime similar to that of John Metaxas, the head of the pre-war fascist dictatorship. Tsaldaris men also hold the Ministries of War, Finance, Coordination, Welfare, and Reconstruction. No wonder Tsaldaris acceded to Henderson's pressure.

NOW the State Department has issued an announcement to the effect that the "differences" between Griswold and MacVeagh have been "worked out." The statement obviously is intended for Greek consumption. Griswold hasn't changed his approach to the Greek problem. Nor has there been at any time a question of his recall, as some reports have suggested. He wants to quit. After Henderson's September mission to Athens Griswold gave notice that he would serve as our Truman Doctrine administrator there for only six more months—long enough for the State Department to find someone more amenable to its views.

The State Department announcement reveals that MacVeagh will retain his strong hold over Greek affairs. He will censor Griswold's dispatches to Washington as he did Paul Porter's. He will support the camouflaged-as-liberal "super-dynamic" policy of the royalists. More important, he will shrewdly favor the military section of the American mission, and together they will press for a stronger United States military policy in Greece.

In March, 1948, it will be one year since the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed. Setting aside its international implications, what has it meant for the Greek people? The only answer is increased bloodshed. The Truman Doctrine was naive in its conception and has been naively executed. As long as Greece's big-money boys—who have a billion dollars cached outside the country, ac-

cording to a report from Athens by Marquis Childs—control the Greek government, there cannot be sufficient economic reorganization to meet the basic needs of the people, and as long as those needs are not met, there will be guerrillas in the Greek mountains exploited by the Communists. The logic of the situation is clear, and Griswold seems to appreciate it.

II. Griswold's One Chance

BY A. W. SHEPPARD

THE Griswold mission in Greece did not start on virgin ground; the soil had already been worked by the British Economic Mission. As I read some of its reports in the American press, I think I am reading again old reports by the British mission. "The mission is trying to bring more land under cultivation through irrigation"; "steps are being taken to put seed-growing farmers back into business"; "spare parts are being brought in for tractors"; orders have been placed for nine plants to process foods"; "reconstruction of damaged roads, railways, seaports, and airfields is a slow and difficult job . . . progress is being made." All these hopes and plans, described in almost identical terms, other members of the British Economic Mission and I were recording from June, 1946, until April, 1947. None of them have yet been fulfilled. Only a few weeks ago President Truman said that so far the economic reconstruction of Greece had not started but that the groundwork was ready. We reported the groundwork ready month after month in 1946. (As a matter of fact, UNRRA had prepared the groundwork, under Buell F. Maben, and prepared it well.)

"Mission investigators have discovered that equipment and supplies furnished by UNRRA have not always been used," says an American press dispatch. This is an old tale dating back to 1945. While spinning mills in Greece were closing down for lack of good wool and cotton, particularly during 1946 and the early part of 1947, more than 3,000 tons of wool and cotton brought in by UNRRA was lying in the warehouses. At the same time the Pega warehouse in Salonika was crammed with food, clothing, fertilizer, and spare parts for tractors and motor cars. The British Economic Mission tried in vain to get this out; now the United States mission is trying.

Mr. Griswold has announced that the Greek budget, soon to be presented to Parliament, will include tax schedules which will at last tax those best able to pay. But when Varvaressos prepared such schedules early in 1946, he was forced to resign from the Finance Ministry.

COLONEL SHEPPARD was head of the British Economic Mission in northern Greece in 1946-47. Before that he was on the staff of UNRRA in Greece.

Nor was anything done about the budget prepared under the guidance of Sir John Nixon, which provided for similar levies, to yield a revenue amounting to about \$700,000,000—the figure mentioned recently by Griswold. Instead, in the budget for 1946-47 provision was made to collect approximately \$10 per head of population—\$8 from indirect taxation and \$2 from direct taxation. Thus there is practically no income tax in Greece, and people with money, especially gold, live almost tax free. The British Economic Mission failed utterly in its attempts to tax wealth in Greece.

There is no organized "austerity" in Greece today except in the areas under control of the rebels. In Athens there are as fine cars as in New York, mainly driven by black-marketeers and former collaborators with the Germans. Confectionery shops and high-class restaurants sell better cakes and sweetmeats than I have been able to find in New York, Paris, Brussels, or London. But if there is no organized austerity, there is enforced austerity—enforced by wages that cannot keep pace with prices, by poor crops, by unemployment, and by the loss of income that is suffered when a majority of bread-winners are in the armed forces, the gendarmerie, or the security police, or have joined armed bands of "nationally minded citizens" or the rebel forces.

"Arrangements have been made by the mission for the establishment of a Foreign Trade Administration," said the State Department's report of November 7. This is the body which the British Economic Mission tried for eight months to set up as the "Greek-English Export-Import Corporation," but for which it could not get a ratifying bill through the Greek Parliament. Imports and exports have been controlled by a licensing system in Greece for some time; despite this, from June, 1946, to April, 1947, you could have searched the import list in vain for the lathes and machinery necessary to get Greece on its feet. But you would have found at the top of the list cosmetics, perfumes, colored scarves, artificial jewelry, motor cars, watches, and fountain pens.

For many years before the war Yugoslavia was Greece's sixth best customer. Although, to my certain knowledge, the Yugoslav authorities have suggested trade agreements on more than one occasion, no trade is carried on between the two countries except in the rebel-controlled areas. There is no trade with Bulgaria or Albania. How can one get peace in the Balkans without trade? Here is a real chance for the Griswold mission. First priority should be given to reconstruction of the railway into Yugoslavia from Salonika.

THE Griswold mission is following the same pattern as the British mission and will be equally ineffective unless a liberal democratic government is installed. Loans, grants and expert advice cannot solve the problems of Greece as long as there is internal dis-

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unity. And you cannot bring about unity merely by destroying your political and economic opponents—each rebel executed in Greece, each liberal exiled, breeds ten more opponents of the government. Yet this is the only policy that has been pursued since Bevin forced the elections on Sophoulis and the unfortunate Greek people in April, 1946, completing the evil work begun by Churchill in 1942, when he decided to back the Greek king, come what might. Holding an election is not proof of democracy. As Bevin himself said in the House of Commons last May (not referring to Greece), "It does not matter how many elections you have; if you have a powerful secret police, responsible to one minister, you have no democracy, and you are not within miles of it."

After more than two years in Greece, in administrative positions which took me all over the country and gave me a knowledge of all political camps and friends in each, I am firmly convinced that at least 70 per cent of the people want neither communism nor the present government. But they have no means of bringing about any change, and the activities of the government are daily driving liberals into the arms of the Communists. The presence of British troops and American missions is a clear sign that Britain and the United States support the present government, and no amount of dialectical discussion at the U. N. or elsewhere will persuade the Greek man in the street otherwise. Since the two powers

can no longer safely withdraw, they should now intervene in a constructive way by announcing to the Greek people that they will give support only to a government prepared to sacrifice all personal aims to that of unity, and to make reconciliation its primary objective.

I have no mandate to say so, but I believe that a government headed by General Plastiras and John Sofianopoulos could be formed and could unite 90 per cent of the Greek people in two months at the outside. If these two men formed a service government, I am convinced that the rebels would lay down their arms. General Markos has said time and time again that he is not fighting to set up a Communist regime in Greece, that if a liberal democratic government is formed he will hand over his authority and end the rebellion. Now is the time for statesmanship. As soon as a democratic government has shown its ability to achieve reconciliation, all foreign troops should be withdrawn, control of the army should be restored to the Greek government, a proper election should be held under U. N. supervision, after a reasonable time has elapsed to bring about normal conditions; and then, perhaps, a non-political relief program could be carried through under U. N. direction.

If this is not done, Greece will remain another Spain. Its democratic forces will not be defeated easily, even if the United States and Britain play the role in Greece that Germany and Italy played in Spain.

London Newsreel

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, November 20

THESE days, the operator of the political film turns his projector fast. In the past four weeks the British public has been treated, on the parliamentary screen, to an eventful newsreel. First came a King's Speech in which a somewhat humdrum program of legislation was enlivened by the challenge to the House of Lords' veto. Then came the somber "shots" of the Cripps plan and announcements of further food cuts, including the highly unpopular restriction of potato consumption to three pounds a week per person. There followed a sensational but questionably effective order by the Minister of Labor which was designed to conscript every "spiv" and "drone" for service in the national effort. Finally came the autumn budget, the Lucifer-like fall of Hugh Dalton, and the ascent of Sir Stafford Cripps to command on the ship's economic bridge.

The audience in the reserved seats, by which I mean the Parliamentary Labor Party, has not applauded the performance. It has been uncomfortably aware that the results of the municipal elections—fought on national, not local, issues—showed that the Tories were successfully exploiting every popular discontent over shortages and enforced austerity, and that it was apparently easier for the opposition to mobilize the anti-Socialist vote than for the Labor Party to get its own supporters to the polls. Too little socialism, or too much? Debate on that issue between the left and right wings of the party continues. Both wings agree that the government's great record of social reform—national security, the health service, and so forth—is in danger of being obscured in electors' eyes by the unsolved economic crisis.

Whatever may be the merits of reducing the Peers' right of veto to one year, the fact remains that the bill was introduced largely to console Aneurin Bevan and the "Keep Left" group for their disappointment at the reprieve given to capitalists in the steel industry. Similarly, the loudly trumpeted assault on wealthy idlers

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—an assault which they can readily circumvent by becoming nominally "occupied" in any of a hundred minor employments not included in Mr. Isaacs's short list of "unessential" trades—was undoubtedly prompted by the desire to compensate the trade unions for the fact that the only serious direction of labor so far enacted applies only to the unemployed. These measures gave little impression of coherent policy, and within a few days of the re-assembly of Parliament it was plain that there was no great enthusiasm among Labor back benchers for Mr. Attlee's reshuffled Cabinet. Add the fact that, before the budget *affaire*, there was considerable doubt whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Minister for Economic Affairs saw eye to eye on crisis policy, and it is not perhaps surprising that there was renewed talk of a move by the right to make Mr. Bevin Premier in Mr. Attlee's place, so as to have a strong hand at the helm. This gossip has been made irrelevant by the elevation of Sir Stafford Cripps to the position of dictator of Britain's economy. The whole future of the Labor movement depends on what Cripps will do and whether, in relation to the economic crisis, he can "bring it off"—with or without Mr. Marshall's aid.

AT THIS point I beg leave to reverse the film sequence. Mr. Dalton's resignation may have been inevitable from the standpoint of strict parliamentary punctilio. Whether, relying on the tradition that trusted parliamentary correspondents are safe recipients of confidences, he gave undue latitude to a journalist's normal urge to secure a "beat," or whether you make the editor of the *Star* the villain in a piece from which nobody drew profit, no government can easily afford to retain a Chancellor who has been involved in what was a highly unusual indiscretion. Perhaps the Cabinet would have rallied to Mr. Dalton's defense if it had not been wondering uneasily whether there was room for both a Dalton and a Cripps policy in the same administration. Certainly the autumn budget which the Chancellor had just introduced was illogical if it was intended to carry out the full implications of Sir Stafford's "all-for-export" plan.

The budget, it is true, represented a partial surrender to the anti-inflationists. It imposed fresh indirect taxation to the tune of about £130,000,000, much of which would fall on working and lower-middle-class incomes, hit additionally by the decision to terminate subsidies on wool, cotton, and leather and thus let the prices of clothing and footwear rise. But in the matter of the food subsidies Mr. Dalton stoutly refused to follow the advice of his Tory and big-business critics, who would have had him curb inflation and release more goods for the export drive by letting the price of essential foodstuffs soar, thus curtailing the purchasing power of the working class. Instead, he decided to "mop up" £47,000,000 from the more speculative class of *rentiers* by doubling the in-

dustrial-profits tax, and to tap, in the betting industry, a novel and potentially fruitful source of revenue.

For his refusal to be panicked into adopting the fatal policy of "cuts" foisted on the MacDonald government by the May committee in 1931, the Labor movement owes Mr. Dalton thanks. After the increases of the past six months in the cost of unrationed food, transport, and many other essential services, it is extremely doubtful whether the mass of consumers in Britain have in fact any "excess" purchasing power: the inflationary pressure arises from accumulations of corporate and personal capital which can be, and are, drawn upon for current expenditure on unessentials. For this the only remedy, in the view of an increasing section of the Labor Party, is a capital levy. Whether Mr. Dalton, had he remained Chancellor, would have included such a levy in his budget next spring is now an idle speculation. All that he said in his budget speech last week was that he hoped to make in April "readjustments" in the burden of taxation which would combine needed relief with added incentives, having regard to the fact that our society was still marred by "gross inequalities of wealth."

As it is, the autumn budget may be said to have dodged the big issues—the ultimate contributions which the rich or the poor are to make toward solving the crisis—by postponing decisions. The new Chancellor will have to make them; and Sir Stafford, it may be presumed, is as aware as the disappointed and infuriated Tory deflationists that increased taxes on consumers' goods which while stiff are not prohibitive will not do much to channel British production into his export markets.

MUST we then expect, next April, a budget of much more stringent austerity? The answer largely depends on what happens, not in Britain's Parliament, but in Congressional treatment of Mr. Marshall's aid program for Europe. As it stands, the Cripps plan, taken in conjunction with the autumn budget, does not add up to figures which make sense. At present the sterling balance of payments is still running a dollar deficit at the terrific rate of £900,000,000 a year. Even if his somewhat sanguine export targets for next year are reached, the import cuts which Sir Stafford has so far announced, combined with the £200,000,000 curtailment in capital developments, involve drawing at least £300,000,000 from gold and dollar reserves in the next twelve months; and though it is hoped optimistically that Britain's global balance of payments may be in equilibrium at the end of that period, the dollar deficit in 1949 will still be equivalent to £250,000,000 a year, with only £270,000,000 of reserves left to support the currency of the whole sterling area. These figures mean one of two things: there will have to be a considerable further descent into the spiral of restrictions of imports and cuts in raw materials for British factories and in rations for their work people,

or the American Congress will have to provide aid, either in the form of direct relief shipments to Britain or in the form of convertible dollars supplied to Europe which can be spent in payment for Britain's otherwise "unrequited" exports to the non-dollar area.

Can Sir Stafford count on finding himself in a position by next April to rely on such aid, direct or indirect? The omens seem against such an assumption, and as Cripps is a realist first and a Socialist second, we may look for further cold douches of austerity, both in the husbanding of Britain's resources and in the taxing away of purchasing power. Politically, the dictatorship of Cripps is a big risk for the Labor movement. If he follows a distinctively Socialist policy, imposes a capital levy, presses on with nationalization of steel, sets up a state monopoly to acquire and make bulk sales of export goods, and thus succeeds in developing trade with the U. S. S. R. and other potential suppliers of food and raw materials outside the Western Hemisphere, he may be able to get the British working class to accept temporarily lower rations and decreased real wages. Otherwise, there are heavy storms ahead: the relations between the Cabinet and the Trades Union Congress and between Sir Stafford and the left within the party will be strained to the breaking-point.

It is up to Mr. Marshall and Congress to determine the course of British policy in the next year; and it is difficult from here to discern what place they consign to Britain in their schemes. The impression created in the Parlia-

mentary Labor Party by many of the features which have emerged in the aid-to-Europe program is unfavorable. If adopted, the proposal to put all relief on a bilateral basis as between the United States and the recipient countries would go far to destroy the constructive conception of Western European collaboration which was a valuable part of the Paris conference report; and it is beginning to be asked with anxiety whether this or any other European country can really afford to accept from the United States assistance which may temporarily maintain higher standards of living than would otherwise be possible but will do little to promote radical economic reconstruction.

News of the "unavailability" of much American steel and machinery, coupled with the Harriman committee's suggestion that Europe's projected capital developments are excessive and that shipbuilding, for instance, should be restricted, have made people here wonder whether the United States wants to finance any recovery in Europe which would be competitive with American business. If it does not, would it not be more sensible to get down, here and now, to a real siege economy, tighten our belts, get what we can from the Empire and the rest of Europe—East as well as West—and follow the advice Professor Viner of Princeton has given us in the current number of *Lloyd's Bank Review*, that we should spend more, not less, in improving our capital equipment? These look like the great issues of debate here in the coming months.

Wind-up at Flushing

BY J. KING GORDON

Flushing, November 29

WE are still too close to the tense closing hours of the General Assembly to be able to form a fair judgment of its work. This last week has been the most dramatic, the most nerve-racking in United Nations history. In taking on Palestine the U. N. had tackled a task almost too much for its strength, and although the logic of its final decision was apparent weeks ago, when the hour of decision arrived it hesitated, sought an excuse for delay, looked for a way out.

It was Mr. Ilsley, the Canadian delegate, who on Wednesday formulated what must have been in the minds of many delegates. "Canada," he said, "was voting for partition as the best of our unattractive alternatives. These alternatives were: do nothing, set up a unitary Arab state, set up a federated state in accordance with the minority UNSCOP report, or create a Jewish and an Arab state. We dismissed the first alternative," said Mr. Ilsley, "as not worthy of the U. N., highly dangerous in its probable consequences, indeed, as virtually

unthinkable." The second alternative would ignore factors that could not be ignored—the Balfour Declaration, the League of Nations mandate, the encouragement given to the immigration of Jews into Palestine, and their establishment of a well-rooted community of 700,000 into which they had put money, labor, and lives. The federated solution had originally appealed to Canada, which had itself succeeded in adjusting the differences between the two racial elements in its population under a federated system, but it had found no support in the Assembly. That left partition. Every responsible delegate was disturbed by the threats of reprisals and the talk of fire and sword. But the likelihood of disorder would be even greater under any of the other solutions proposed.

Many factors accounted for the wavering and vacillating votes during the last few days. There was a solidarity among the nations of Asia against the Western powers which were imposing a settlement on an Asiatic people. In this Assembly they had been given good grounds for

believing that the sense of superiority of the white race was far from obsolete. There was a cognate fear among colonial powers of the effect of partition on Moslems everywhere: the Netherlands and France with large Moslem colonial populations moved reluctantly from the abstention into the "yes" column. For many it was conscience that made them cowards, compelling them to accept France's last-minute proposal of postponement just in case reconciliation was still open. But in the end, even if, as the Arabs resentfully charged, United States pressure swung over a few votes, the great majority realized that months of study, heart-searching, and labor had carried them to one conclusion: partition was the most just and workable solution for Palestine.

SENATOR AUSTIN in his fervent and evangelical closing speech said that a useful contribution of this Assembly had been to clarify the world situation, to reveal its true character. Certainly it was no Assembly for gauze-curtain idealists.

Under the fierce Klieg lights of the Assembly debate, conflict rather than real accord was revealed in stark outline. Perhaps we should be grateful to Mr. Vishinsky for putting the Russian case with such colorful frankness. Unfortunately, the fire and brimstone of his language frequently scorched his listeners more than it illumined his subject. We can understand his case against American policy in Greece because American liberals have made a similar case. His attacks on the Little Assembly, originally well founded, were in the end much too severe for the harmless little debating society that eventually emerged. His blasts against war-mongering peppered too broad a target and hit some quite innocent bystanders. And his assault on the Marshall Plan had the unfortunate result of convincing many formerly unconvinced Americans that Russia had designs of its own on Western Europe. For there are few Americans, as there are few non-Communist Europeans, who regard the Marshall Plan as a grandiose attempt to enslave Europe to American imperialism.

The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union has been fully exposed at this Assembly. The roots of that conflict, the true aims of foreign policy behind the distrust and suspicion, have not been made clear. Some persons still think that these two giants can find ways of living peacefully in the same world, that they need not start preparing for a new war. In fact, a neglected angle of the U. N. debate was that many of the smaller nations—and, indeed, some of the larger ones—kept saying as much.

One tragically plaintive note which kept running through this Assembly was that international economic cooperation, which loomed so large in the Charter, seemed to be getting nowhere. To blame the United States for proceeding with the Marshall Plan outside of

the United Nations is of course to mistake symptom for cause. Until political fears and suspicions are banished, economic cooperation, whether through the Marshall Plan or through specialized agencies, must be of a partial character. Russia's boycott of the special agencies must unfortunately be viewed in connection with its attacks on the Marshall Plan.

An unpleasant reality brought out during the Assembly was the continuing solidarity of the colonial powers and the consequent neglect of the rights of colonial and non-self-governing peoples. South Africa's response to the earlier U. N. request to bring Southwest Africa under the trusteeship council was understandable for domestic political reasons. So, too, was its elegantly frank defense of race discrimination in the case of its treatment of Indians. What was shocking was to see that India's defense of human rights received no support, but rather opposition, from the very powers which in other contexts were so valiantly defending the rights of man. This record may explain to some extent the colored and the Asiatic peoples' skepticism of the humanitarian motive of the Western nations in the case of Palestine.

NO ESTIMATE of the Assembly's work can be complete without some reference to personalities. We have mentioned Mr. Vishinsky, easily the most vivid and forceful if not the most helpful delegate. In debate his only near match was Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, brilliant in rebuttal and adept in producing that compromise proposal which is the objective of the parliamentary process. Gromyko, incidentally less spectacular than Vishinsky, is a much more useful Soviet delegate.

For sheer brilliance in presenting a case Zafraullah Khan of Pakistan was outstanding. He argued the unpopular side of the Palestine issue persuasively and with a moderation not characteristic of his Arab colleagues. On the partition side, and playing quite a different role, Lester Pearson of Canada must be singled out. His amazing ability in committee work—plus an unflagging sense of humor—was largely responsible for bringing about agreement between Russians and Americans on the implementation plan. Mme Pandit and Mrs. Roosevelt stood out as able exponents of the one-world idea. Of the other Americans, General Hilldring and Herschel B. Johnson deserve mention; of the British, Hector McNeil, Cadogan, and Shawcross, whose parliamentary and Foreign Office training showed up to advantage in debate.

But on the whole the caliber of the delegates was not high, not high enough for the responsibility they carried. With the exception of Aranha, there was no outstanding chairman; hours were wasted in futile talk and procedural snarls which a good chairman could have avoided. The member nations must be prepared to send better representatives. From the standpoint of world peace the U. N. must be considered a top-policy matter.



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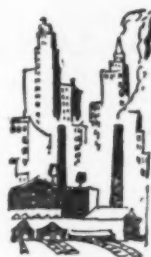
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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Those British "Loafers"

LECTURING the British is a popular pastime these days. American politicians, publicists, and business men are telling John Bull that he should get back to work instead of leaning so heavily on Uncle Sam. Assiduously the impression is being spread that Britain's industry is wound up in red tape; that its chief activity is the production of forms; that British workers are sitting on their hands; that nationalization of industry has failed hopelessly and is leading to chaos.

It is about time, I think, that we took a look at the record to see what actually has been happening to Britain's economy since V-J Day. A useful summary is to be found in the September-October number of *Labor and Industry in Britain*.^{*} The whole of this special issue is devoted to a sober factual "Report on Britain" which provides a needed corrective for some of the inaccurate stories published in this country.

In regard to developments in British industry since the end of the war, the report concludes: "The over-all picture . . . is of steadily expanding production in most fields of industrial activity. The shortages at home are due not to inability to produce but to the unfortunate need to export a major part of output to pay for essential imports." I shall devote this article to quoting some of the evidence supporting this statement.

The actual working population of Britain at the end of June was only 2.45 per cent higher than in June, 1938, after deducting from the gross figures at both dates the men in the armed forces and the unemployed. Yet in its issue of August 2 the *Economist*, a magazine not given to over-optimism, estimated that total national output was 10 to 20 per cent higher than in the pre-war year. This clearly means that productivity per man in industry as a whole is improving, not deteriorating. Figures of output per man-hour for separate industries are not readily available in Britain, but the following table taken from the October Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Statistics shows that in a number of trades some very striking advances have been made since the war.

OUTPUT PER MAN-HOUR

	1938	July, 1945	Oct., 1946
Iron ore.....	100	125	129
Pig iron	100	95	105
Tinplate	100	153	197
Bricks	100	47	110
Tile	100	53	81
Cotton spinning.....	100	95	99
Cotton weaving.....	100	81	97
Rayon yarn.....	100	145	156

The marked improvement, even in those cases where pro-

^{*} Available free on request from British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

ductivity lagged below pre-war standards, between July, 1945, when reconversion had barely begun, and October, 1946, will be noted. The industries with the poorest records are those in which production was deliberately reduced during the war. Their low productivity was partly a reflection of the high average age of the workers that had been left to them. In the case of cotton textiles war-time depletion of the labor force is still the chief factor holding down both total output and output per man-hour. Before the war wages in this industry were low, underemployment was chronic, plants were antiquated, and conditions unpleasant. Consequently, many textile operatives who shifted to war plants have been reluctant to return to their old factories.

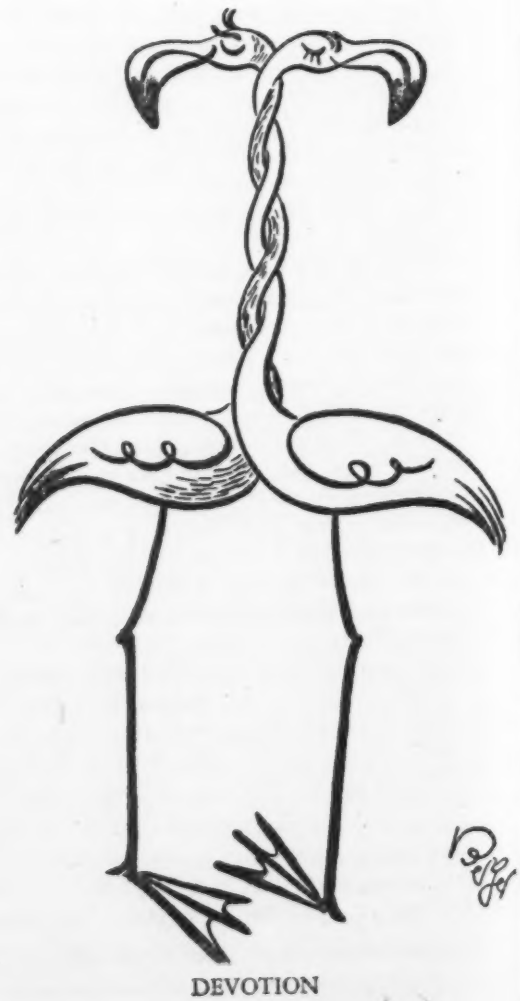
For this reason cotton and to a lesser extent wool still remain dark spots in Britain's industrial picture. But in nearly every other industry total production is well above pre-war and in a number of cases the advance has been very striking indeed. Thus the tonnage of merchant shipping under construction in September was nearly two and a half times the 1938 monthly average. In the latest periods for which figures are available output of trucks was 192 per cent of the 1938 average, of freight cars 140 per cent, of farm tractors 525 per cent, of superphosphate 180 per cent. Most important of all, perhaps, is the mounting output of steel, which in the week ending October 25 exceeded the previous all-time record of "Dunkerque week."

Such figures suggest that British industry is not quite as decadent as some Americans assert. Even in coal-mining, the chief butt of the critics, the corner seems to have been turned. Since the National Coal Board took over the mines on January 1, 1947, total output has been some five million tons greater than in the comparable period of 1946. In the week ending November 8 production was 97 per cent of the 1938 average, though the available working force was considerably lower. Since the five-day week was introduced last May, absenteeism has declined and over-all output per man-shift risen. Now the miners have voluntarily agreed to extend their working hours and have also withdrawn their opposition to the use of foreign labor. During the coming year some 30,000 European immigrants are expected to enter the pits, and this additional man-power, coupled with the new machinery which is being installed as part of the Coal Board's modernization program, should mean a steady improvement in production.

Government plans called for a coal stockpile at the beginning of the winter season of 15,000,000 tons—50 per cent above 1946. Actually on October 31 more than 16,250,000 tons were on hand; so that there is good reason to hope that Britain will avoid another "winter crisis" and next year will again be contributing to Europe's fuel needs. Plans call for the export of six million tons, which will be an important aid to recovery on the Continent as well as a valuable item in Britain's export trade.

The British, then, if by no means out of the woods, are not lying down and waiting to be rescued. They are working, and working hard, on a lower average diet than they experienced in the worst days of the war. They deserve, it seems to me, a little less nagging and a little more appreciation of their accomplishments and understanding of their problems.

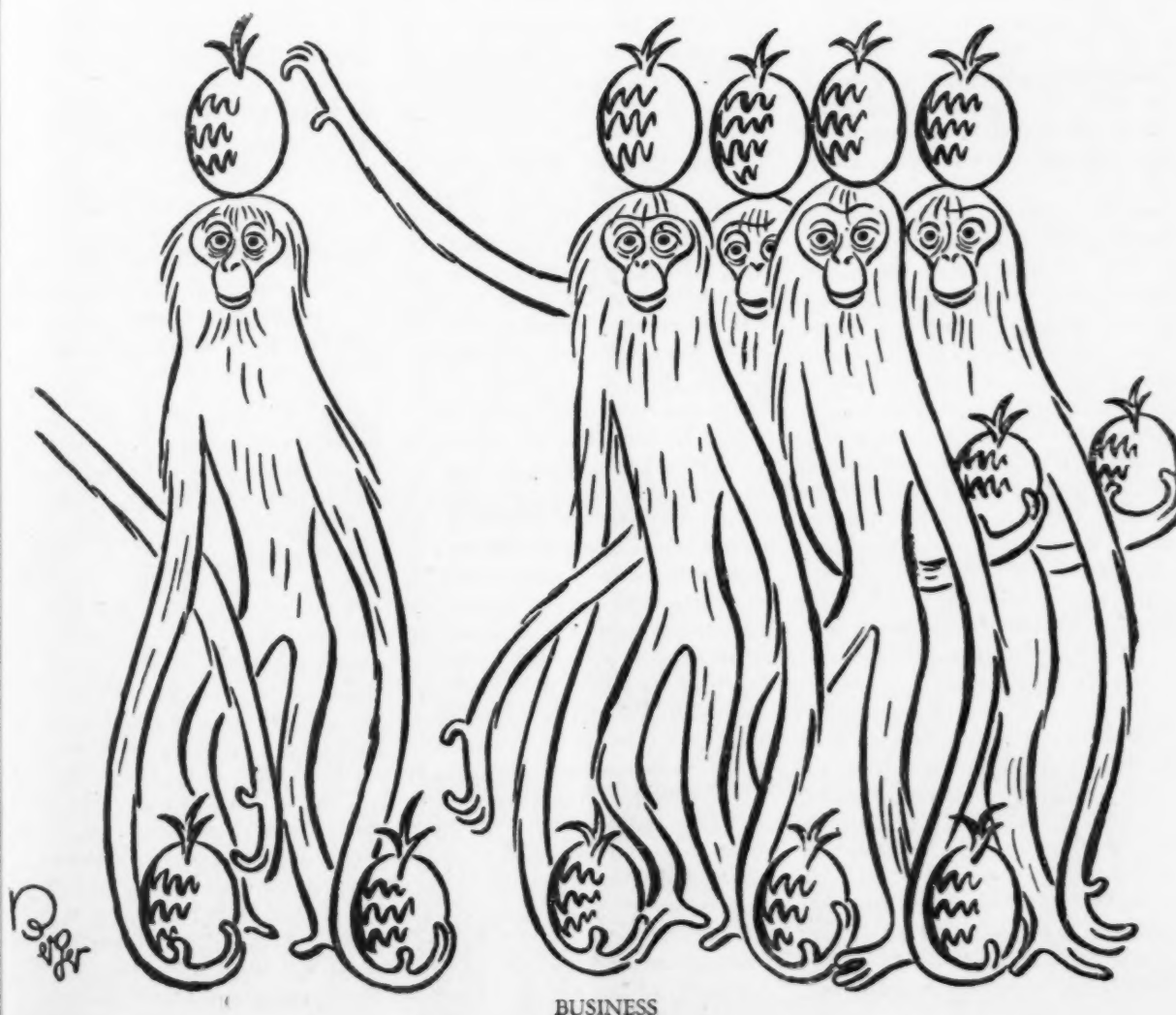
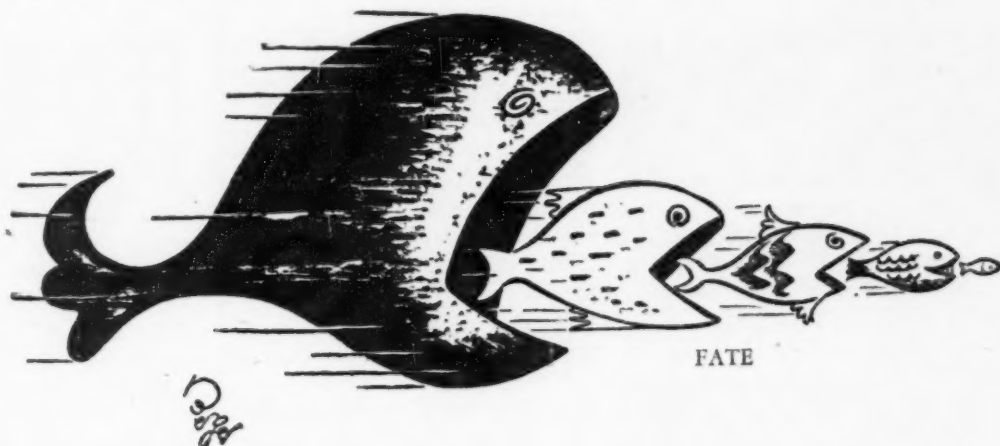
BERGER'S ZOO



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These drawings by Oscar Berger, whose work is familiar to readers of The Nation, the New York Times, Life, and other magazines, are taken from his new book, "Aesop's Foibles," just published by the John Day Company.



BOOKS and the ARTS

Boston as Symbol

THE PROPER BOSTONIANS. By Cleveland Amory. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$4.50.

IN 1828 Bronson Alcott, who had peddled Yankee notions in Virginia and New York, approached at last, in breathless awe, the city of Boston. It surpassed his dearest hopes. "There is a city in our world," he was soon to write, "upon which the light of the sun of righteousness has risen. . . . It is the same from which every pure stream of thought and purpose and performance emanates. It is the city that is set on high. It cannot be hid. It is Boston!" This was indeed Athens, with culture, Mr. Emerson, and the Athenaeum.

In 1855 a more realistic student of "Anglo-Saxon" Boston, himself one of its intellectual glories, declared it the central battleground of all America, "for here the two extremes meet in closest contact, in sternest strife." To Theodore Parker Boston was Athens not so much because it produced culture as because it generated passion and conflict. Respectable Bostonians could then drag Garrison through the streets with a rope around his neck, burn a convent, finance half the railroads in America, outsmart bankers everywhere, and formulate the manifestos of liberal Protestantism. Parker, the far from temperate leader of one extreme, had a name for the other: "Call that opposition Hunkerism; call the opponents Hunkers." Hunkers obliged their foes to show a vigor equal to their own: "Talk about the Catholics voting as the bishop tells! . . . There are a great many bishops who never had a cross on their bosom, nor a mitre on their head, who appeal not to the authority of the Pope at Rome but to the Almighty Dollar, a pope much nearer home." Nineteenth-century Boston, in short, was a boom town, plenty tough, and thus it made both history and money.

By now all this seems far away and long ago. What could have made Alcott lyrical or Parker furious? Old-family Boston, State Street Boston, proper Boston, is no longer culture or Hunker-

ism; it is comedy. It is the last Puritan, George Apley, and the old lady who goes to California by way of Dedham. It is peopled with amusing eccentrics, who above all have no relation to present social problems. It is an island of complacency, almost as ideal a refuge for nostalgia as Father Day's parlor. It has achieved the apotheosis of a literary stereotype, a theme for witty books that undoubtedly circulate more copies in Omaha than in South Boston.

It ought to be a commonplace of scholarship—too often it is forgotten—that a literary convention on this level of popularity is primarily a creation of the public that embraces it. The lay figure may bear no close or even any resemblance to the subject he is supposed to represent; he is a symbol of what the audience wants, not of the fact. Buffalo Bill was an invention of American mythology, only incidentally Colonel Cody. Sometimes the Colonel Cody strives to merge himself with the legend until he ceases to have any self, but often the original, if he can keep his mouth shut, finds a certain protection, not to say profit, in the existence of his alter ego.

For reasons that it would take a sociological treatise to expound, the banker and the merchant no longer become heroes very easily. This may be disconcerting; Hunkers prospered enormously while being denounced as Hunkers, but can they operate with confidence when they are supposed to be on the way out? Then it begins to appear that the new figure of comedy will do as well as, maybe even better than, the image of the Hunker. Any group will try to survive, by one means if not by another. Against a declining economy or against new competitors, if it can be established as quaint and queer, it may remain as a fixture. So Boston society, to judge by the documentation, appears to be offering itself up as a willing sacrifice. Again it is pioneering a stage in the history of the middle class by arraying itself before the delighted public as a curiosity, an almost extinct but still amusing species in the American zoo.

Actually, of course, it is doing nothing of the sort. But the legend serves,

and perhaps internal tension in Boston can be handled behind this façade more neatly than in Detroit. There is indeed a local idiom, but the realities of Boston, as experience teaches and Mr. Gunther confirms, are astonishingly like those of Chicago. Ultimately one most regrets the vogue of this convention because among readers in other parts of the nation it encourages the superstition that regional differences are fundamental. It obscures the fact that they all grew up in the age of Hunkerism.

The latest addition to this literature of Boston is Mr. Amory's "The Proper Bostonians." It is weak on history but rich in anecdote, and written *con amore*. It is great fun to read for about half of it—any half. Thereafter this convention, like any other convention of local-color fiction, like Bret Harte's miners or Colonel Carter of Cartersville, when kept going too long, becomes repetitious and tedious.

PERRY MILLER

Making the Record Clear

THIS IS PEARL! THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN—1941. By Walter Millis. William Morrow and Company. \$4.

AN EARLIER book by Mr. Millis, "The Martial Spirit," was an ironic and admirable study of the way we got into the war with Spain and destroyed Cervera's fleet, stormed San Juan Hill, and in general carried out the instructions of Manifest Destiny. Mr. Millis was very severe in his criticism both of the Hearst press, which he thought was mainly responsible for the war, and of the bungling but finally successful efforts of our admirals and generals to assert our superiority over the ill-equipped forces of the Queen Regent.

"This Is Pearl!" is a riper and wiser book. It tells two stories—one of the diplomatic negotiations which led up to the Japanese attack on our Pacific fleet, the other of the incredible lack of preparation at Pearl Harbor, which alone made the attack a success. The two stories are interwoven with the skill of a Dumas; by frequent references to the

Japanese preparations—their task force was assembling in the Kuriles, it was steaming toward Oahu, its planes were warming up on the flight decks—he gives heightened significance to the account of the negotiations in Washington.

It is typical of the disillusionment which has already seized America that some people now contend that President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull deliberately "forced" the Japanese to attack us and with Machiavellian cunning left the commanders on Oahu uninformed so that the Japanese attack would succeed. The object, we are told, was to get us into the war with Germany, and the Roosevelt-haters have not dropped the story, even though Hitler and Mussolini followed up Pearl Harbor by declaring war on us.

Any decent American feels unclean from merely setting down such calumnies, and we are all in debt to Mr. Millis for making the record clear. There are, as he admits, gaps in his narrative, and the publication of all the documents in the archives of the State Department and the Combined Chiefs of Staff will no doubt alter some details. But the many volumes of the Pearl Harbor investigation, together with the memoirs of Grew, General Brereton, and others, were available to Mr. Millis, and this would appear to be the definitive account, for our time at least.

Mr. Millis is convinced that the July 25 order freezing all Japanese assets in the United States rather than Secretary Hull's note of September 26 was the turning-point of the negotiations, and that from then on the Japanese militarists, who had been torn between the northward program against Russia and the southern program against the Dutch, the British, and ourselves, knew what they had to do. He emphasizes his belief that economic sanctions, instead of slowing up the militarists, only made them hasten their preparations, and he thus seems to uphold the State Department's policy of not cutting off scrap iron or oil until the eleventh hour.

All in all, Mr. Millis's account must inevitably increase the world's respect for the President and his Secretary of State. He concedes that they followed "policies which, under all the circumstances, made the Japanese attack virtually inevitable," but adds that, to his mind, "the Roosevelt Administration

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had no other choices than those which it successively took." In view of the sentiments expressed at the time by Herbert Hoover, Charles A. Lindbergh, *et al.*, which Mr. Millis rescues from oblivion to explain the difficulties of standing up to aggression, Americans can congratulate themselves that they had such leaders—and that the folly of the Japanese attack vindicated their leadership.

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APPLETON-CENTURY

Not all was perfect, of course, in Washington. It was a loosely knit government, and Mr. Stimson did not know until the next day whether Mr. Hull had actually delivered the first United States note. Since we were intercepting and decoding all the Japanese instructions to their Washington envoys, the failure of the War and Navy departments to require real preparedness at Pearl Harbor was a blunder. General Marshall and Admiral Stark were busy building up an army and navy to fight a year later, and their war plans and intelligence officers were not equal to their heavy responsibilities.

Still, as Mr. Millis points out, Short and Kimmel—together with Rear Admiral Block, commander of the Pearl Harbor base—had only to read the newspapers to know that war was approaching. As he says, they "somehow managed to violate nearly every precept of history and of military security, and thus to lay the great base as open as possible to the precise form of attack which all of them had recognized, theoretically, as the most to be feared." It is a shocking story. Americans have a right to be proud, however, of the G. I. on Oahu who spotted the attack by radar, of the navy lieutenant in Washington who tried to make the top brass understand the significance of the hour when the Japanese would give Mr. Hull their final answer—which was dawn at Pearl Harbor. Mr. Millis, incidentally, holds General MacArthur responsible for the still more inexplicable lack of preparedness in the Philippines, when the Japanese, hours later, followed up their attack on Pearl Harbor by destroying the precious B-17's on Clark Field.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Choices and Chances

GANDHI AND STALIN, by Louis Fischer. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

THIS book is concerned with the supreme issue of our time—the survival of the liberal, humanist, democratic tradition. That this tradition stands in great and growing peril in the contemporary world requires no labored documentation. Every issue of the daily paper bring fresh evidence of impending disaster.

The course to be followed to avert this disaster is by no means clear. Men

and women of good-will and intelligence differ profoundly on the question. But none among them merits a more attentive hearing than Louis Fischer, who for twenty-five years has traveled up and down the planet, going wherever he might deepen and broaden his understanding. Many of those years were spent in the Soviet Union, and few other Americans, if any, are as well qualified as he is to sense the tendencies and assess the meanings of the Russian Revolution. The book under review deals largely with the Soviet challenge to democracy.

Mr. Fischer sees the crisis of our time as essentially moral. The choice, he thinks, is not between socialism and capitalism but rather between freedom and dictatorship. While recognizing the clear necessity of achieving radical institutional changes, he insists that we must at the same time hold fast to those things which are good—particularly individual integrity and respect for human beings. Like Victor Gollancz in "Our Threatened Values," Mr. Fischer is profoundly disturbed by the Western world's apparently growing callousness to brutality, cruelty, terror, and deceit. "Nothing in the nature of government or economics," he says, "can quickly inculcate a love of mankind." For him the old antithesis between good and evil, between dictatorship and democracy, is exemplified in the persons of Stalin and Gandhi.

The Bolsheviks seized power in 1917 under the banners of international socialism—a movement which in the course of several generations had endeavored to bring into a synthesis the essential values, insights, and energies of the Hebraic-Christian ethic, the humanistic tradition, scientific method, technology, and democracy. Although the dictatorship from the beginning cast a dark shadow over the prospect, the declaration of the revolutionary leaders that they were intent on abolishing forever the exploitation of man by man stirred the minds of idealists and raised the hopes of the oppressed everywhere. The passing of the years, however, was marked, not by a "withering away of the state" as the supreme coercive force in society, but rather by a steady growth of both the reach and the ruthlessness of the dictatorship. In Mr. Fischer's view, as long as the dictatorship was

recognized in Russia as a temporary and regrettable necessity, as it was in the early years, hope remained. But with the adoption of the new constitution in 1936, which actually changed nothing, despotism came to be called liberty and a monstrous fraud was perpetrated on mankind. At the same time nationalism was made the central value in Soviet theory and practice. As a result of these and other developments, according to Mr. Fischer, the line distinguishing communism from fascism was largely erased. "State control over all capital, plus secret-police dictatorship, plus nationalism," he writes, "are national socialism, even though its leaders speak in the name of the proletariat."

Mr. Fischer consequently regards as a perversion of truth the often-repeated pronouncement that the peoples of the world must choose between communism and fascism or between communism and reaction. This, he says, is no choice at all. The real choice is between dictatorship and democracy, and Soviet communism can be identified in no sense with the latter. In similar fashion he disposes of the well-worn suggestion that "we must meet the Russians halfway." He contends that we have already gone 90 per cent of the way—during the war, through lend-lease, at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam, in Germany, Austria, Italy, and Korea. They have swallowed an empire in Eastern Europe. Apparently they are moving to swallow the rest of the Continent.

The fact is, according to the author, that the political struggle between dictatorship and democracy is well advanced. This struggle cannot stop before one or the other wins. To assume that they can cooperate in rebuilding the world is to engage in wishful thinking.

In order to win, democracy must be "true to itself" in all its operations. It must strive honestly and effectively to achieve "decent relations between countries and between persons." In the words of Gandhi, it must "turn the searchlight inward." At home it must enrich itself and apply its basic principles of individual worth and freedom to the entire range of institutions and human associations. In the economy this means a combination, experimentally determined, of public, private, and cooperative enterprise designed to bring security and opportunity to all while

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Abroad democracy must repudiate even the appearance of imperialism and move as rapidly as possible toward some form of limited world government founded on international law, supported by an adequate police force, and devoted to the "advance of prosperity, personal freedom, and peace" everywhere. If possible, this should be done through the reform of the United Nations; if not, through some new international organization. Mr. Fischer is of the opinion that such a world government is "practically impossible" with Russia. He is prepared therefore to proceed without Russia. Only "international democracy," he says, "can win over national communism."

"Gandhi and Stalin" is a sober and honest, an informed and courageous book. The present reviewer continues to hope that the Politburo will change its course, but the current policies and practices of the Soviet dictatorship are not calculated to encourage this hope. On the contrary they serve only to strengthen Mr. Fischer's arguments and to reinforce the validity of his analysis and program.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IN "Eastward in Eden" (Royale Theater) the author faces more than the normal hazards of the biographical play. In the first place, her subject is a poet, and poets are notoriously difficult to make convincing. In the second place, Emily Dickinson was a woman whom everyone is tempted to "explain" despite the unfortunate fact that explanation tends only to explain her away. Perhaps it is merely that her mystery is more interesting than any rational accounting for it can be. Or perhaps she lived in a self-imposed solitude because she was by congenital temperament a solitary, not because, to adopt the usual explanation, she was disappointed in a love which went out toward some shadowy but not impossible he. Perhaps, in a word, she knew in advance that she would inevitably be disappointed in any love she might be tempted to risk and so, poet like, reaped the fruits of an experience she never needed to have.

On some such assumption as this a

play might possibly be written. The present author, Dorothy Gardener, has chosen instead to accept one of the current theories which puts Emily somewhat conventionally in love with a married minister who fails her to the extent that he follows his "duty" instead of following her. Miss Gardener brings him back, once in a dream and once, at the very end, in the flesh, when he comes, a dying man, to confess that he has never been able to forget her.

All this provides an obvious action and, on the whole, a not uninteresting one. It brings Emily down to earth. To some extent she is humanized and made less disturbing to contemplate. But it leaves at the very least a question still open. Ought the author of those poems to be humanized? Do we want the phenomenon robbed of its terror? Is it not equally probable as well as rather more impressive when we assume that Solitude Becomes Emily in just that same sense that Mourning Becomes Electra?

With these exceptions duly noted—and I think that they are very important ones—"Eastward in Eden" does nevertheless manage to sustain an interest and produce an effect. It certainly escapes,

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as few such plays do, an air of mere absurdity when the poet speaks some of the lines she was later to write; and if it does not actually create a heroine one feels to be great, it does create one who is not, like most poet or musician heroes, manifestly incapable of great works. Miss Gardener's Emily has eagerness and wit and charm even though one must take her genius on faith, and she engages our sympathy as a woman even though one must call upon what one knows to believe her a great poet as well. Nor can there be any doubt that Beatrice Straight, an actress but little known in New York, carries the very difficult burden of her role with extraordinary competence. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine just what the play would be without her. Thanks to her presence the central character is vivid enough and sympathetic enough to sustain the interest of an audience to the end.

To the inevitable practical question, Is that enough for Broadway? the answer, I fear, is no. Considered merely as a play, quite aside from its subject, "Eastward in Eden" is interesting but not quite interesting enough. To seem important, it needs the knowledge that its central character wrote certain memorable works, and I am not sure that the average spectator is wrong when he refuses to assume the responsibility of bringing with him into the theater any knowledge upon which the playwright can safely draw. A biographical play does not really justify itself except when it carries its own adequate proof that the subject really has heroic stature. Few biographical plays actually do that, and "Eastward in Eden," though it comes nearer than some, does not quite do it either.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE rising general level of advanced or "radical" art in this country is on the point of becoming a substantial fact. The even more rapidly declining general level of the standard expressionist-impressionist sort of painting that is shown so plentifully at the Whitney, Carnegie, and Pepsi-Cola annuals should not conceal this fact from us, should indeed make it even more

visible, since the growing inferiority of the one serves to clear the air for the other. The issues become plainer, and the areas in which serious and ambitious modern art can still be produced, easier to define. Except in the hands of a few gifted individuals, survivors who gather up the threads of a previous generation, descriptive art is pretty well finished. Art, which succeeds in being good only when it incorporates the truth about feeling, can now tell the truth about feeling only by turning to the abstract. I do not say this out of dogmatism—art cannot be prescribed to—but only because the incidence of good art has become so much greater in the area of the abstract than elsewhere.

The most recent evidence to support the supremacy of the abstract was provided by Adolph Gottlieb's latest one-man show at the Kootz Gallery and Hedda Sterne's latest show at Betty Parsons's. The second show is even more striking testimony than the first, for whereas Gottlieb proved himself as a painter on a high level several years ago, Miss Sterne is now taking her first steps in abstract painting and would seem to have as yet little more to bring to bear than a delicate sensibility and a careful taste. Nevertheless, this show of hers contained at least five pictures whose sureness and originality lift them far above the general run of stuff on Fifty-seventh Street. Admittedly, this art lacks force—but force is not everything; there is also room for delicacy.

Miss Sterne's success is due principally to the instinct with which she fits her open and economical draftsmanship to the off-shades she favors in color: tans, ochers, gray-whites, off-blues. Everything is handled with a nice flatness, an insistence on keeping the picture very close to its surface that insures decorative unity before anything else. Miss Sterne's art is not quite enough as yet; there is a danger that it will content itself with decorative successes: the effect is of panels rather than of easel-pictures. More emphasis is required, and more "ideas." None the less the chief issue at the present moment lies in the high level her painting reaches. And her level is her triumph.

Adolph Gottlieb, though still confining himself to his formula—a set of juxtaposed rectangles on which hieroglyphic forms are inscribed—increases

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in strength as well as felicity with every new show. That he can get the variety he does within the narrow and too decorative design to which he limits himself becomes more and more surprising. Two of his new canvases—the large "Water, Air, Fire," with its novel color, and "The Oracle"—achieve a power that belies the timidity we otherwise feel too frequently in his work. And "Vigil of Cyclops" and "Pursuer and Pursued"—the latter a departure in the direction of deep, translucent color—also succeed, with less force.

Gottlieb is perhaps the leading exponent of a new indigenous school of symbolism which includes among others Mark Rothko, Clifford Still, and Barnett Benedict Newman. The "symbols" Gottlieb puts into his canvases have no explicit meaning but derive, supposedly, from the artist's unconscious and speak to the same faculty in the spectator, calling up, presumably, racial memories, archetypes, archaic but constant responses. Hence the archaeological flavor, which in Gottlieb's painting seems to come from North American Indian art and affects design and color as much as

content. I myself would question the importance this school attributes to the symbolical or "metaphysical" content of its art; there is something half-baked and revivalist, in a familiar American way, about it. But as long as this symbolism serves to stimulate ambitious and serious painting, differences of "ideology" may be left aside for the time being. The test is in the art, not in the program.

Gottlieb has produced enough successful pictures by now to demonstrate that he has an original and valid gift. These pictures of his aspire, however, to be more than minor successes; in some of them at least one senses the possibilities of a large art. It is just here that dissatisfaction intervenes—dissatisfaction with a policy of limited objectives. It is as if Gottlieb might go on forever refining, dividing, and elaborating a sensation that remains identical throughout. Each painting is different, it is true, but the difference becomes the less essential part. The design, which is always the same in principle and which—withstanding the subtlety and surprising range of Gottlieb's mat, Indian-like color—always delivers the main blow, assures the artist a certain safety that he should neither desire nor need. However numerous the sub-sensations he can discover within this safety, they count only as the phrases of a single statement. We have the right to ask of Gottlieb that he tax himself to say more.

a help in achieving it: the timing and force of one sound in such a coherent progression strongly implies, for the players, the timing and force of the next, so that sounds fall into place in the succession with inevitability and ease. But each new performance is a newly created series of sounds which do not come out exactly the same as the last time; hence the need of not only marshaling the flow along but watching over it and controlling it. For this he uses gesture—principally the plastic, sensitive movements of his right arm (with its extension to the point of the baton), which delineate the flow in much of its subtly inflected detail, and literally conduct the orchestra through it—their effectiveness in this being due not only to their explicitness in conveying his desire at every moment, but to the compelling personal force which they also convey. While the right arm makes these marshaling movements the left is in constant activity of a different kind as the instrument of the watchfulness and control—exhorting, quieting, warning, suppressing. All this is fascinating to watch as the unself-conscious operation of complete competence; it is also moving as the manifestation of powers like none we have encountered or are likely to encounter again; and it is moving for an additional reason: not only is every movement completely equal to the situation, but it never is more than equal to it; those extraordinary powers operate, then with an economy that is an honesty in relation to the situation and material; and in this way the performance is, in addition to everything else, a moral experience which is intensely moving.

What I thought Bernstein might learn from watching Toscanini is to do no more than he needs for what he wants. And what led me to this thought was Bernstein's conducting of the New York City Symphony in a performance of Beethoven's Second, which struck me at times as being far in excess of what was needed. The orchestra might be moving along with a clear tendency that required only a confirming indication—instead of which he suddenly wound himself into a Koussevitzkyan paroxysm—and this to achieve a crescendo from *p* to *mf*. What happened in such a case was that the orchestra disregarded the paroxysm and produced the

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Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IT IS evident from Leonard Bernstein's conducting movements that he has watched and learned from Koussevitzky; and it seems to me that he would do well now to watch and learn from Toscanini.

From my observation of Toscanini I would describe his objective in performance as the realization of the composer's intention, as he understands it from the printed score, in a plastically coherent flow of sound in time. Once having set such a flow in motion he marshals it along, watches over it, controls it to make it come out as he planned. The strong plastic coherence of the flow is

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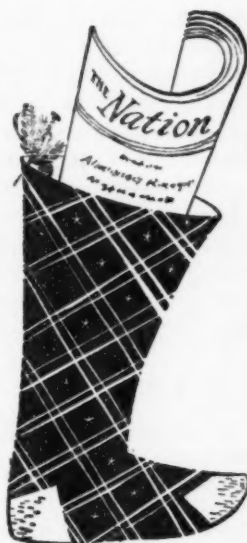
mf it was supposed to produce—which is to say that at that moment Bernstein was not really conducting the orchestra but carrying on a performance of his own.

At the same concert Bernstein gave the first New York performance of Prokofiev's Fifth Piano Concerto, much of which is like a caricature of Prokofiev's piano concerto style in the way it flings itself about on the piano. The soloist was a new French pianist, Samson Francoix, who increased the effect of caricature with his spectacular flinging of his hands about.

In striking contrast to this outpouring of facile brilliance was the playing of Greta Sultan in a Haydn sonata, in which a powerful musical intelligence created a musical continuity from one sound to the next that held one's attention from the first sound to the last. The first movement of Beethoven's Opus 111 did not come out well: as I recall it the approach was too analytical and there were technical insufficiencies. But in the second movement there was again a sustained continuity that was wonderfully effective.

The Griller Quartet, when I heard it last year in a broadcast from the Frick Collection, impressed me as first-rate. And so I was entirely unprepared for performances of Beethoven's Opus 59 No. 3 at the opening New Friends of Music concert and Mozart's K. 421 at the Y. M. H. A. in which the first violin played with disturbing affectation in phrasing and with faulty pitch. The Hindemith String Trio No. 2 played at the New Friends concert by Alexander Schneider, Milton Katims, and Benar Heifetz was characteristically ugly and arid; with the exhaustive survey of Hindemith's chamber music the New Friends audience is in for an unpleasant year.

Thomas Scherman, in the one concert of his series with his Little Orchestra that I have heard, revealed genuine powers as a musician with his conceptions of the works he played, his shaping of them, his tempos and phrasing, and as a conductor, with the way he got the orchestra to execute his conceptions, and in particular the way he carried it though so unfamiliar and difficult a work as Schönberg's Kammer-symphonie. What he seems to lack is any capacity to estimate value or interest in music



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for the purpose of making programs; and I will rest my case on the program I heard: a Bruckner string quintet—boring to the point of being lethal; a Leclair concerto for flute and strings—with no more than a mild charm that was extinguished by the flute-playing of René Le Roy, whose technical difficulties with his instrument made it impossible for him even to play in correct time and in step with the orchestra; a new harp concerto by Norman Dello Joio—com-

pletely without musical interest; Mozart's Concerto for flute and harp—one of the most undistinguished of his jobs of commissioned hackwork; and the Schönberg Kammer-symphonie. This was the one work of real consequence of the entire program—but largely by virtue of the 'impressive powers that were involved in it, rather than by the artistic communication these powers produced. And this, for me, is not good program-making.

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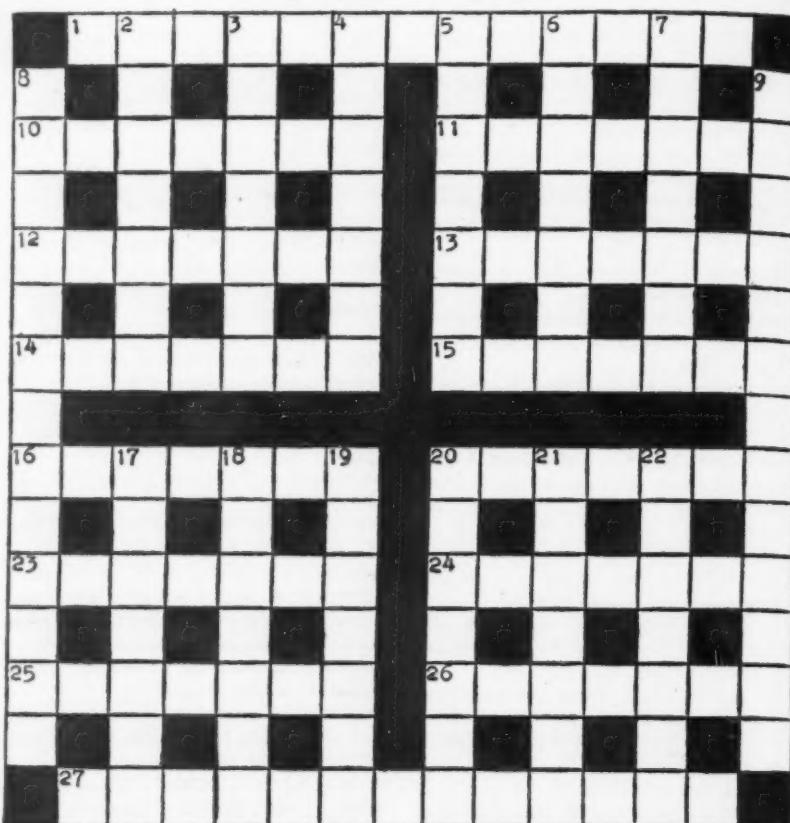
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Crossword Puzzle No. 240

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Is the musician who has it completely in the dark? (8, 5)
- 10 Slice is as you will, it still brings out something. (7)
- 11 Mr. Turk. (7)
- 12 I've a car, and a passion for riches. (7)
- 13 Philadelphia emmet? (7)
- 14 Not outings where they might hold a race for the 13. (7)
- 15 Box with brown finish. (7)
- 16 Be equal, and get even. (7)
- 20 Not one of Hammett's "Stout Fellows." (4, 3)
- 23 How a careless grammarian might make a verbal mistake? (7)
- 24 Error one might make on flight? (7)
- 25 Smart since it's become a metropolis. (7)
- 26 Cause to sour. (7)
- 27 The wrong crypt? (1, 5, 7)

DOWN

- 2 A great place to keep it in mind. (7)
- 8 Nothing to hold, but often held. (7)
- 4 Should such coats be orange-colored? (7)

- 5 What your child does in great form on the Ides of March? (7)
- 6 She's of the blood royal. (7)
- 7 Study with address, to touch on a subject. (7)
- 8 Tossing out your mother-in-law (perhaps in the absence of 1)? (8, 5)
- 9 Disproving the phrase "as deaf as a post." (9, 4)
- 17 Knotty problems are solved by it. (7)
- 18 A "B" and an "A." (7)
- 19 An ugly object rose up in view. (7)
- 20 Apt in my responding to a blow on the head. (7)
- 21 Examine pins, etc. (7)
- 22 Pick this, but there's no point to it. (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 239

ACROSS:—1 SPITES; 5 CRABBED; 9 AC-COSTS; 10 ARTICLE; 11 HYDRA; 12 IRON-SIDES; 14 FINE; 15 LEGHORN; 18 HIM; 20 RAG; 21 OPALINE; 23 TOOL; 26 STATE-ROOM; 28 NOUNS; 29 EROSIVE; 30 ASHAMED; 31 SWIVELS; 32 ENGAGES.

DOWN:—1 SWATHE; 2 RECEDE; 3 TOS-CANINI; 4 SUSPIRE; 5 COALOIL; 6 AL-TOS; 7 BACKDOOR; 8 DRESSING; 13 HIP; 16 GROUNDHOG; 17 RAM; 18 HOLSTERS; 19 MACARONI; 22 ELOPERS; 23 TIMBALE; 24 NUTMEG; 25 ASIDES; 27 EXILE.

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